

Message Text

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ACTION PM-04

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00
INR-07 NSAE-00 L-03 IGA-02 EB-07 TRSE-00 OMB-01
MC-02 ACDA-07 H-01 NEA-10 /079 W
-----073286 241127Z /12

R 240722Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY OSLO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3971
INFO DEPDEF WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 OSLO 2962

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MARP, MASS, NO
SUBJECT: F-16 THIRD COUNTRY SALES

REF: OSLO 1440

BEGIN SUMMARY: IN OUR VIEW THE NEXT F-16 RELATED PROBLEM WHICH MIGHT ARISE IN NORWAY IS THE QUESTION OF THIRD COUNTRY SALES. THERE ARE ON NORWAY'S BOOKS PARLIAMENTARY RESOLUTIONS AND LAW WHICH COULD GIVE RISE TO A NORWEGIAN DECISION TO REFUSE TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH SALES IN SELECTED CASES EVEN THOUGH FOREIGN TRADE AND JOBS AT HOME BE AT STAKE. THE GON IS AWARE OF THE ISSUE BUT HAS NOT REALLY ADDRESSED IT YET OPENLY. IT PROBABLY WILL SEEK TO AVOID CONFRONTING PROBLEM BEFORE SEPT 12 ELECTION. BUT THE PROBLEM IS A REAL ONE AND WILL BEAR OUR WATCHING AND CONSIDERATION OF ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO IT. END SUMMARY.

1. NOW THAT F-16 LETTERS OF OFFER AND ACCEPTANCE HAVE BEEN SIGNED, TIME HAS ARRIVED TO ATTEMPT TO ANTICIPATE
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FUTURE CONSORTIUM STUMBLING BLOCKS IN PROJECT'S PATH.
MAJOR ONE THAT WE FORESEE FOR NORWAY IS QUESTION OF
THIRD COUNTRY SALES.

2. NORWAY HAS SOME LONG-STANDING PARLIAMENTARY GUIDANCE WHICH CAN RESTRICT EXPORTATION OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION FROM THE COUNTRY. THIS CLEARLY COULD BE BROUGHT INTO

PLAY IN THE CASE OF F-16 SALES CONTAINING NORWEGIAN PARTS TO A NON-CONSORTIUM COUNTRY. WHILE SUCH RESOLUTIONS DO NOT HAVE THE FORCE OF LAW IN NORWAY, THEY SERVE AS FIRM POLITICAL GUIDELINES FOR NORWEGIAN POLICY MAKERS AND WILL BE CONSIDERED SERIOUSLY IN ANY CONSIDERATION OF SUCH CASES. THE FIRST OF THESE IS A 1927 SENSE OF PARLIAMENT RESOLUTION AIMED AT DISCOURAGING, OR IN CERTAIN CASES, PREVENTING THE SALES OF WAR MATERIAL TO COUNTRIES "AT WAR OR THREATENED BY WAR." A 1935 STORTING RESOLUTION REGARDING FIRE ARMS EXPORT LAID OUT THE BASIC GUIDELINE AS FOLLOWS: "EXPORT OF FIRE ARMS AND AMMUNITION MAY NOT BE ALLOWED TO COUNTRIES WHICH ARE IN A STATE OF WAR OR OF CIVIL WAR, UNLESS THE WAR IS A /LEGAL WAR OF DEFENSE/." THE RESOLUTION FURTHER ADDS THAT ARMS EXPORTS COULD ONLY GO TO "LEGAL GOVERNMENTS."

3. AGAIN ON MARCH 11, 1959 THE NORWEGIAN PRIME MINISTER STATED THAT: "WHEN DELIBERATING ON A QUESTION REGARDING ARMS EXPORTS, PARTICULAR ATTENTION MUST BE PAID TO THE FOREIGN POLICY ASPECT OF EACH INDIVIDUAL CASE, AND THE MAIN POINT OF VIEW SHOULD BE THAT NORWAY WILL NOT PERMIT EXPORT OF FIRE ARMS OR AMMUNITION TO AREAS WHERE THERE IS WAR OR THREAT OF WAR, OR TO COUNTRIES IN A STATE OF CIVIL WAR." AT THAT TIME THE STORTING NOTED THE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT AND STRONGLY EMPHASIZED THAT "EXPORT OF FIRE ARMS AND AMMUNITION FROM NORWAY SHALL ONLY TAKE PLACE AFTER

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CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF ALL ASPECTS OF INTERNAL AND FOREIGN POLICY IN THE AREA CONCERNED." IT WENT ON TO SAY THAT "SUCH CONSIDERATION SHALL IN THE OPINION OF THE STORTING BE THE DECIDING FACTOR WHEN A DECISION IS MADE AS TO WHETHER OR NOT EXPORT SHALL BE PERMITTED."

4. IN ADDITION, NORWEGIAN STATUTE PLACES CONTROLS ON ARMS EXPORTS. THE 1937 LAW ON THE EXPORT OF WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION (AS AMENDED BY ACT OF 9 JUNE 1961) SUBJECTS THE EXPORT OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION TO LICENSING BY THE MINISTRY OF SHIPPING AND COMMERCE. IN PRACTICE, LICENSING DECISIONS ARE MADE ON CASE BY CASE BASIS AFTER CONSULTATION WITH MINISTRIES OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE.

5. GON OFFICIALS ARE WELL AWARE THAT THE TIME IS NOT FAR OFF WHEN THEY WILL HAVE TO WEIGH THE ARMS EXPORT POLICY IN THE CASE OF THIRD COUNTRY SALES OF THE F-16. THEY KNOW ALSO THAT SALES TO COUNTRIES SUCH AS IRAN AND ISRAEL MAY PROVOKE OPPOSITION, ESPECIALLY FROM LEFTIST CIRCLES, WHICH OPPOSE NORWAY'S SECURITY POLICY, AS WELL AS FROM OTHER QUARTERS WHICH FOR MORAL REASONS DO NOT WANT TO SEE THEIR COUNTRY BECOME AN "ARMS MERCHANT." OTHERS

WILL RECALL THAT IN 1958 THE QUESTION OF SELLING ARMS TO
BATISTA'S CUBA CAUSED A GOOD DEAL OF CONFLICT WITHIN THE LABOR
GOVERNMENT.

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R 240722Z JUN 77
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6. ARRAYED AGAINST THIS HIGHLY VOCAL GROUP ARE THOSE FORCES
WHICH SEE THE ARMS SALES QUESTION MORE STRONGLY IN RELATION TO
THE QUESTION OF COMMERCE AND JOBS. NORWEGIAN CONCERN ABOUT A
DIVERSIFIED EXPANDING ECONOMY AND PARTICULARLY ABOUT PROVIDING
EMPLOYMENT IN NORWAY IS STRONG AND IS BASED FUNDAMENTALLY IN THE
TWO LEADING (THOUGH OPPOSING) PARTIES -- LABOR AND CONSERVATIVE.

7. LABOR'S LEFT WOULD MOST LIKELY OPPOSE THIRD-COUNTRY SALES,
AND THE NON-SOCIALIST CHRISTIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY MIGHT HAVE
DIFFICULTY ACCEPTING ANY WEAPONS SALES TO NON-NATO COUNTRIES,
THUS CREATING A CONFLICT AMONG THE NON-SOCIALISTS ON THE ISSUE.
WE KNOW THERE ARE IMPORTANT VOICES ON EITHER SIDE OF THE ISSUE
IN THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. IT APPEARS NOW AS IF NO
ONE IN THE GON WANTS TO OPEN THE ISSUE, AT LEAST UNTIL AFTER
THE SEPTEMBER 12 ELECTION. BUT EVEN AFTER THE ELECTION THE
MATTER WILL BE DELICATE.

8. THE ARRAY OF FORCES WHICH WOULD FAVOR F-16 SALES FOR
COMMERCIAL AND LOCAL JOB REASONS COULD DOMINATE IN THE END.
BUT THEY MAY NOT WANT TO FACE THE POLITICAL DEVISIVENESS THE
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ISSUE COULD RAISE, OR THEY MAY CHOOSE TO RESTRICT NORWEGIAN PARTS SALES TO CERTAIN COUNTRIES, WHICH COULD PROVIDE DIFFICULTIES FOR NORWAY'S CONSORTIUM PARTNERS.

9. THE PROBLEM IN THIS FIELD SHOULD NOT BE UNDERESTIMATED. AT PRESENT WE HAVE NO SPECIFIC POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS TO MAKE BUT MERELY WISH TO ALERT CONCERNED U.S. AGENCIES TO THE POLITICAL PROBLEM AREA. MEANWHILE THE EMBASSY WILL BE KEEPING DEPARTMENT APPRIZED OF ANY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MATTER.
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Message Attributes

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Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 24-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
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Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
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Disposition History: n/a
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